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CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

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World order and the rule of law will be secure on this earth only when men have learned to cope with the continuing conflicts of peoples and nations through the peaceful processes of bargaining and negotiation. And might I admonish my fellow Americans that we too need to be cognizant of the differences in other lands, that we seek no pax Americana, we seek no trademark "Made in the U.S.A.," we seek above all to negotiate, to accommodate, to adjust so that peoples realize their hopes in their way.

A second lesson that I have learned from my congressional teachers is the importance of the congressional role of responsible surveillance. There are roughly 70 separate departments and agencies in the Federal Government. Now if you should notice two Cabinet officers vintage a bit, as I speak of congressional surveillance, may I say that I have not been long from the Chambers of the Congress. I am not fully purified as yet in the executive climate. There are roughly 70 departments, some are small, some are large. All are engaged, however, in doing what they believe is carrying out the will of the people as expressed by the Congress.

In the interest of efficiency, economy, and responsiveness, these departments and agencies need, even if they don't want it, a continuing critical review, constructively critical it is to be hoped, by the committees and the Houses of Congress. The genius of our Founding Fathers is nowhere more in evidence than in that section or those sections of the Constitution which provide for checks and balances. Uncomfortable as those checks and balances may be sometimes to those who seek to administer, through its review of the executive budget, in the appropriations process, yes through committee and subcommittee investigations, through advice and consent on appointments and treaties, and through informal discussion, Congress seeks to improve and to support the executive branch of our government. My fellow Americans, I know that this cross-examination can be interpreted in other lands as division in our ranks, but it appears to me that it is more important that the American people know what is being done in their country, that they have the opportunity to reflect upon the policies and the decisions that are to be made, than it is that he should always have the image abroad of having a sort of monolith mind. I am not that worried. Let those who feel that we may discuss too often and that we may argue too much, let them remember that freedom is hammered out on the anvil of discussion, dissent, and debate, which ultimately yields to a decision that can be supported by the public.

This exercise in congressional freedom protects and extends personal freedom. And that is our goal. If legislative voices are occasionally strident, and they are, citizens should take stock of what their world would be like if no legislative voices were heard at all.

We know what happens in countries without independent and constructively analytical legislatures. Mankind invented a word for such systems centuries ago, and the word is as old as its practice—tyranny.

There's one other lesson that I've learned from my congressional teachers: the creative joy of politics. I can say in personal testimony that I would not give my life to it unless I found in it a sense of fulfillment and joy. Each Congress is devoted in substantial measure to the development of new public policies designed, as our Constitution says, to promote the general welfare and provide for the common defense, the national security of this Nation.

Congress is not a battlefield for blind armies that clash by night; it is a public forum operating in the light of day for men of reason. It is a place where national objectives are sought, where Presidential programs are reviewed, where great societies

are endlessly debated and implemented. Oh yes, I know at times the congressional process exasperates and confounds us; it's clumsy, sometimes it's slow and unresponsive to what some of us believe is urgent need. Its strength and its weakness is the fact that it is representative of our country, of our human institutions. It reveals in its conduct and makeup all of the crosscurrent of social, economic, and political forces. It is like a huge mirror suspended over the Nation, reflecting and revealing us for what we are, dirty face and all at times, our prejudices as well as our ideals, our fears and our hopes, our poverty and our wealth. There it is in the Congress representative of the people. Oh, to be sure, we should seek to constantly improve its rules and its institutions of operating machinery, but ultimately, my fellow Americans, the Congress will behave as the Nation behaves, the Congress will represent the spirit of the American people.

It was Emerson who once wrote that Congress is a "standing insurrection." You don't need a revolution here; you have one built in. It is a standing insurrection against the ancient enemies of mankind: war, and poverty, and ignorance, and injustice, and sickness, environmental ugliness, and economic and personal insecurity.

Now, graduates of this class, few careers offer such remarkable opportunities for translating dreams into reality. Congressman HANLEY, I am not seeking opposition to you, I am merely encouraging this group of fine graduates to take a new interest in the affairs of state, in government, in public life. A new bill, a creative amendment, a wise appropriation, may mean the difference to this generation and generations ahead, between health and sickness, jobs and idleness, peace and war for millions of human beings.

And stemming from ancient parliamentary origins, the main job of Congress is to redress the grievances, to right the wrongs, to make freedom and justice living realities for all. What higher calling, I ask you, exists than this? This is the essence of politics: to translate the concerns and the creative responses of a vast citizenry into effective and humane laws. And, I submit, no country does it better than ours. Our competence in the field of self-government is the envy of mankind.

I cannot conclude without a personal note. For almost 20 years, Congress has been my home. As Vice President, my relationships with my former colleagues are inevitably a bit more formal and more intermittent than in past years. Yet I can say unashamedly that I cherish them dearly. I have seen their weakness and they have seen mine.

I have been on occasion restive of delays and procedural anachronisms—and so have they. But I have seen in the Halls of Congress more idealism, more humaneness, more compassion, more profiles of courage than in any other institution that I have ever known. And like many of you today, I find in my heart to praise and to thank my teachers.

Perhaps some of these words of tribute to the institution of freedom known as the U.S. Congress may stay with you. I hope so; I know it well; I respect it greatly. As long as the Congress of the United States continues to function as a responsible and viable element in our constitutional system, the promise of American democracy will forever endure—the torch of freedom will forever light the path of our future.

Each of you, however, must also assume a personal responsibility for preserving freedom in these perilous times. This is not the business of someone else, it is your business. Freedom is the personal commitment and responsibility of each and every one. And the nature of this responsibility, I think, is best illustrated by John Adams' notion of the spirit of public happiness.

It was this spirit, said John Adams, that possessed the American colonists and won the revolution even before it was fought—a spirit which is reflected in delight in participation in public discussion and public action. It is a sense of joy in citizenship, in self-government, in self-control, in self-discipline, and in wholehearted dedication.

An important part of the mission of this great university has been to instill in each of you the spirit of public happiness. And it will be this dedication to the public service—found in the hearts of Americans alive today and the generations yet unborn—that will insure the ultimate victory of freemen in their struggle against the forces of tyranny and oppression.

Your work is ahead of you. The time awaits no man. Seize this opportunity to serve the cause of mankind.

SOVIET ANTI-SEMITISM

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD at this point the text of the eloquent address delivered by Rabbi Seymour J. Cohen, the spiritual leader of the Anshe Emet Synagogue in Chicago, Ill., president of the Synagogue Council of America, as well as chairman of the steering committee of the American Jewish Conference on Soviet Jewry, at the eternal light vigil in LaFayette Park, Washington, D.C., on September 19, 1965.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

We come today before God and man to give witness concerning the fate of our brothers in the Soviet Union. We come today to bestir ourselves and to arouse the conscience of all men.

We come today to consecrate ourselves anew to the solemn task of securing and assuring the religious and cultural continuity of our brothers in Russia.

It is fitting that we should do this. It is proper that we should do this here and now. We are 1 short week before the new year.

Now is the time when a man must search his heart. Now is the time when a man must reflect on his responsibilities. Now is the time when we must concern ourselves with the welfare of others. Now is the time for prayers to God and for action by men.

We plead with the God of the covenant, remember them and help us.

What is the tragedy of Soviet Jewry? The tragedy can be stated simply. They are subjected to a process of spiritual and cultural attrition. They are losing their identity as a distinct group. Unless this process is stopped, a great and historic Jewish community will disappear.

Before God and man we ask: Can we allow the disappearance of any Jewish community as a result of external pressure?

Before God and man we ask: Can we be silent as they are prevented from teaching their children the faith of our fathers?

Before God and man we ask: Dare we stand by as they are intimidated from free association with Jews at home and abroad?

Before God and man we ask: Can we be the silent witnesses as they are being condemned to a lingering spiritual death?

Place yourself in the position of a Soviet Jew and ask: Is that type of life tolerable?

The Soviet Jew stands utterly alone. He has been isolated from his religious heritage. He has been cut off from his cultural tradition.

He is cut off from his past. His present is severely restricted. His future is bleak.

What is life without the strength of roots? What is life without the pride of history? What is life without the warmth of memory?

What is life without the ennoblement of culture? What is life without the fellowship of community? What is life without man's link to eternity?

The Soviet Jew as Jew is in limbo. His is not life. It is rather spiritual death.

It is hard to believe that a great government aims consciously at the forceable assimilation of a minority of its population. Can we be silent as a link is torn from the millennial chain of Jewish life? Our fate is intertwined with theirs.

They are bone of our bone, flesh of our flesh.

We are bound to them by the cords of memory. We are all part of a covenant people who share a common history, faith, culture, language, and tradition. They are precious to us. Dare we stand with folded hands? The bar of history would not forgive our inaction. We are a small people with a great heritage, a heritage which teaches that when any man is fallen—you, you must help him stand.

We are a small people whose ranks have been cruelly diminished during this past generation. Can we afford to stand idly by when a quarter of our remaining family is denied the liberating air of spiritual and cultural equality? Will we stand by as this denial of their rights leads to their spiritual asphyxiation?

Conscience demands the elementary right of every people to group life.

Conscience demands the elementary right of each man to worship God as he sees fit.

We plead for those for whom the synagogue and its schools stand at the very heart of their Jewishness. We implore for those who cherish Hebrew and Yiddish, love their language, and see it at the very core of their cultural being. There are those Soviet Jews who saw their dearest perish in the holocaust. Shall they be denied the fundamental right to be reunited with their remaining families? The Soviet Union has affixed its signature to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Religious liberty, cultural fulfillment, family reunification—are basic human rights.

In this hour, we welcome the condemnations of anti-Semitism that have appeared in the Soviet press. The remarks of Premier Kossygin and the recent Pravda editorial are first steps. We hope that they are the beginning of a process of the rectification of lingering wrongs. The Soviet Union is not insensitive to world public opinion. We must continue our labors until there is a fundamental change in the situation of the Soviet Jew, a fundamental change which will enable him to live his life as a Jew in dignity, honor, and pride.

Before God and man, we declare that we make our demands in the cause of peace. Together with all men of good will, we hope for the improvement of relations between all nations. Fervently in our daily prayers, we ask for world peace. We pray that there be a rapprochement between our beloved Nation and the U.S.S.R. Let us never forget, however, that the elimination of a moral grievance which causes tension will surely remove an obstacle to understanding. We know the pains of war. We yearn for the serenity of peace. It must be a peace of justice. It must be a peace of equality for the Jews, for all men of the Soviet Union.

Our demands are just. We ask for our brothers that which is promised to all Soviet citizens.

In this solemn hour, our hands are uplifted in solemn oath.

We will not rest until justice is done for our people in the Soviet Union.

We pray to the All Merciful, who answers the broken hearted that He will answer us, that He will save, and that He will have mercy upon our loved ones. Together with our prayers go forth our continued commitment to our labor. We shall struggle to enable our brothers to maintain their religious

loyalty and cultural identity. We shall not rest until we secure their right to associate with fellow Jews within and without the Soviet Union. We hope for the day when severed families will be reunited again. Their cause is dear and precious to us. The urgency of their need, the lateness of the hour, bids us to cry aloud, to proclaim before all men that we have come to seek justice for our people.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President I also ask unanimous consent, in connection with this address, to have printed in the RECORD an article published in the Washington Post of September 20, 1965, entitled "10,000 Protest Soviet Anti-Semitism at Rally," and a list of the 24 Jewish organizations sponsoring the week-long vigil.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NEARLY 10,000 PROTEST SOVIET ANTI-SEMITISM AT RALLY

(By William J. Raspberry)

Ten thousand people from 106 communities thronged to Lafayette Park yesterday in dramatic protest of anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union. The rally marked the beginning of a week-long "national vigil for Soviet Jewry."

Sprawled over three-quarters of the park, in humid, 90-degree weather, the crowd heard bitter charges that the Soviet Government is bent on destroying Russian Jewry and solemn pledges that this would not be allowed to happen.

James Roosevelt, U.S. representative to the United Nations Economic and Social Council and one of nearly a dozen speakers, said Soviet Jews "are uniquely discriminated against."

This means, he said, that they have no opportunity to maintain and perpetuate their existence and are deprived of their human pride and self-respect.

"It is now a quarter of a century since any Jewish school has existed where a Jewish child might learn something of Jewish language, literature and history: a quarter of a century in which a whole generation of Soviet Jewish youth is confronted with a past that is a blank and a future that is empty."

"To force that great community to become a dead end in history is a moral crime, a historic tragedy, a gross violation of human rights," he said the problem "properly belongs on the agenda of the United Nations."

Roosevelt and other speakers, notably Bayard Rustin, Negro civil rights leader, emphasized the difference in the problems faced by Jews in Russia and by Negroes here—principally, that the U.S. Government is "vigorously seeking to eradicate" injustice to Negroes, while the Soviet Union turns its back to the plight of its Jews.

Other speakers—Catholic, Protestant, Orthodox and Jewish clergymen, labor leaders, writers and educators—pointed up some of the harsh facts that face Russian Jews:

There were 450 Russian synagogues in 1956; 60 in 1965.

Jewish congregations in Russia increasingly are composed of old people, the young being prodded by the State into atheism.

While the Soviet antireligious campaign is general, it is directed with special force against the Jewish community. Although all Russian towns still retain at least one Orthodox church, many towns with sizable Jewish populations have had their only remaining synagogue forcibly closed in recent years.

Following the 2-hour rally, the crowd marched up 16th Street, west on K Street, and returned to the park by way of 17th Street.

A four-man delegation composed of Theodore Bikel, Rustin, Rabbi Seymour

Cohen, of Chicago, and the Reverend John Cronin, of the National Catholic Welfare Council, tried to present a petition bearing a million signatures at the Soviet Embassy.

When no one answered the door at the Embassy, Bikel slipped one sheet of signatures under the door and announced that the remainder of the petitions would be returned to Lafayette Park, where a light will remain in place until Friday noon. The torch is inscribed: "The House of Israel Shall Endure."

Delegations from the 24 Jewish organizations sponsoring the week long vigil will go to the State Department at 10 a.m. today for a briefing on Jewish life in Russia, and to the White House at noon for a conference with McGeorge Bundy and Lee White.

LIST OF ORGANIZATIONS SPONSORING WEEKLONG VIGIL

American Israel Public Affairs Committee.
American Jewish Committee.
American Jewish Congress.
American Trade Union Council for Histadrut.
American Zionist Council.
B'nai B'rith.
Central Conference of American Rabbis.
Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations.
Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America.
Jewish Agency for Israel, American Section.
Jewish Labor Committee.
Jewish War Veterans of the U.S.A.
Labor Zionist Movement—Poale Zion, Farband, Pioneer Women.
National Community Relations Advisory Council.
National Council of Jewish Women.
National Council of Young Israel.
Rabbinical Assembly of America.
Rabbinical Council of America.
Synagogue Council of America.
Union of American Hebrew Congregations.
United Synagogue of America.
Zionist Organization of America.

THE CONGRESSIONAL CONFERENCE ON BICYCLING IN AMERICA

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, about a year and a half ago on May 1, 1964, I had the great pleasure of attending a conference with many of my distinguished colleagues in both Houses of the Congress. It was the Congressional Conference on Bicycling in America.

At this conference I was privileged to hear such noteworthy speakers as Dr. Paul Dudley White, the eminent heart specialist, Mr. Joseph Penfold, chairman of the Citizens Committee for the Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission, and the Honorable Secretary of the Interior, Stewart L. Udall.

Mr. President, I am sure I speak for my colleagues who were in attendance when I say we were enlightened by what we heard.

We heard Dr. White tell us of the many advantages to our health and longevity from the kind of exercise provided by bicycle riding. We heard Mr. Penfold tell us of the 58 million Americans of all ages, in every section of this great land of ours, riding bicycles for fun, physical fitness, and economical transportation. He told us, too, of the great need to provide this growing army of cyclists with safe, pleasant places to ride—away from the hazardous crush of traffic on our busy highways.

And we heard the distinguished Secretary of the Interior tell us that, in plan-